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FORUM

The Writings and Speeches of Marx and Engels

Our survey presents to the reader a bibliography and review. Shortly following the death of Engels in August, 1895, Eleanor Marx, Bernstein, Mehring and Kautsky undertook to make publication possible of hitherto unpublished letters and manuscripts. Quite a great deal was opened by those named. The exact fate of all letters and manuscripts since the death of these individuals is somewhat uncertain. The archives of German Social Democracy prior to the war contained many letters and manuscripts which had not already been granted or sold to the Marx-Engels institute in Moscow, established by Ryazanov in 1920. Ryazanov (deposed and imprisoned by Stalin government in 1931) deserves credit for having initiated the publication of the "Historisch-Kritisch-Gesamtausgabe," a series of volumes which although not reaching beyond the year 1848, give all writings and speeches up to December of that year, thus being fuller in material than the editions up to that period previously issued by Mehring in "Aus Dem Literarischen Nachlass, 1841-1850." In addition to the "Gesamtausgabe," the Marx-Engels-Lenin institute in Moscow have issued several other publications, hitherto unpublished, taken from the manuscripts—these from a date beyond 1848. We divide our survey into five sections and the principle we have adopted in presentation is as follows:—We quote first the title of the article or book, etc., in the original language in which such was written or published. The date which will immediately follow on is the date of the first publication where this latter ensued on the writing: if it is not this publication date the date quoted will be the reference to when written. The reviews will convey precision where this latter is lacking in the bibliography. To ensure an absence of what may be called "real superfluity" we shall not refer more than once to a particular publication unless that further reference means an altered, amended, or more complete version of the first. Following this date we shall enclose in brackets, where the work quoted is in a foreign language, an English rendering of the same, and the additions (PT) or (T) when occurring will indicate that such is a translation of that there exists for us a translation,

partial or complete. The English rendering we shall give will, if such exists, be the translated title of the translated edition. In certain cases we have summarized a group of articles under a particular title of our own—this because we cannot for reasons of space, mention every particular article in the bibliography. The reader should remember—Marx (1818-1883), Engels (1820-1895).

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Section 1.—Karl Marx, from August 10th, 1835 to December, 31st, 1844 (inclusive).

Briefe von Karl Marx an seinen Vater, 1837. (Letters of Karl Marx to his father, 1837).

In these letters "Karl" pours forth his heart on his studies. We discern that he has been engaged intellectually in a tremendous struggle for a world-outlook. Briefe von Marx an Professor Bachman usw., 1841-1843. (Letters from Marx to Professor Bachman, Professor Wolff, Arnold Ruge, Dagobert Oppenheim, Von Schaper, 1841-1843).

These letters reveal Marx as a developing giant of thought.

Dichtungen, 1837. (Compositions, consisting of a partly completed novel, entitled "Scorpion and Felix," and of a number of poems and a play, 1837).

So Marx wrote fiction, and he wrote poetry, too!

Abiturienarbeiten, 1835. (Documents relating to Marx's high-school leaving—examinations or matriculation, 1835).

Differenz der demokratischen u. epikureischen Naturphilosophie, 1841. (Difference between the Democratean and Epicurean philosophy of Nature, 1841).

This is the dissertation which earned Marx his University degree. Marx is not yet a "dialectual materialist," but the essay shows Marx's mind travelling towards his "dialectical materialism." Democritus was a materialist and Epicurus, too, although Epicurus's materialism is tainted with mysticism, but in this essay Marx attaches more importance to

Epicurus than he does in his later years of life.

Abgangszeugnis der Universität Berlin für Marx, 1841, u. Doktordiplom, 1841. (Documents relating to Marx's graduation and diploma of his University degree, 1841).

Marx was declared a Doctor of Philosophy by Jena University. We sometimes see Marx referred to as Dr. Marx.

Wilde Lieder-Athenium Zeitschrift, 1841. (Wild or unpolished songs, published in "A.Z." (Athenium Magazine, 1841).

Aufsätze in "Anekdoten," 1843. (Articles for "Anekdoten," 1843).

This "Anekdoten" was a journal edited by Arnold Ruge, one with whom Marx co-operated literally for some time.

Aufsätze in "Rheinische Zeitung," 1842-1843. (Articles for the "R.Z." (Rhenish Gazette, 1842-1843).

This "Rhenish Gazette" was to a considerable extent the organ for the expression of the revolutionary opinions of the then revolutionary German bourgeoisie. Marx, who favoured a bourgeois revolution for Germany, wrote for the journal and was appointed as its editor. Marx resigned his editorship March, 1843. His resignation did not save the journal from being suppressed.

Ehevertrag zwischen Karl Marx u. Jenny von Westphalen, 1843. (Document or marriage certificate relating to marriage of Marx and Jenny von Westphalen, 1843).

We translate the first part of this marriage certificate as:—"Marriage—Between Carl Marx, Doctor of Philosophy, resident in Cologne, and Miss Johanna Bertha Julia von Westphalen, of no occupation, resident in Kreuznach—12th June, 1843.

Kritik des hegelschen Staatsrechts, 1843. (Critique of Hegelian "Constitutional Law," 1843).

This is a fairly lengthy critique of Hegel's views as expressed in the latter's "Philo-

sophy of Law." It is Marx's first critique of Hegel and a supplementary critique was written later.

Briefwechsel zwischen Marx u. Bakunin, Feuerbach, 1843. (Correspondence between Marx and Bakunin and Feuerbach, 1843).

Kritik der Hegelschen Dialektik, 1844. (Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic and Philosophy, 1844) (T).

This critique reveals to us Marx's materialist attitude to the Hegelian philosophy.

Aufsätze in "Vorwärts," 1844. (Articles for "Vorwärts" (Forward), 1844).

"Vorwärts," for which both Marx and Engels wrote, was a journal published in Paris. Marx has two articles—one on "The King of Prussia" and the other on "Karl Heinzen" (T).

Aufsätze über Privateigentum usw., 1844. (Articles entitled: (1) Alienated Labour (T) (2) Private Property and Communism (T), 1844.

Briefe von Engels an Marx, 1844. (Letters from Engels to Marx, 1844).

These come within the section period. We shall, however, refer to them in section 3, which deals with Marx-Engels correspondence.

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Section 2.—Friedrich Engels, from 1836 to December 31st, 1844 (inclusive).

Gedichte usw., 1836-1842. (Poems, etc., 1836).

So young Engels wrote poetry, and to an even greater extent than did Marx.

Briefe an seine Schwester Marie, 1838-1842. (Letters to his sister Mary, 1838-1842).

In these letters Engels shows his interest in art, music, languages and sketching.

Briefe an die Brüder Graeber, 1838-1841. (Letters to the brothers "Graeber," 1838-1841).

Engels writes here critically concerning "Holy Writ" (The Bible).

Aufsätze in "Telegraph für Deutschland," 1839-1841. (Articles in the "TD" (German Telegraph), 1839-1841).

Engels here and on certain other occasions, too, writes under the pseudonym of "Friedrich Oswald." This was the name he adopted when in his military service. In none of his articles does Engels yet clamour for Socialism. He is still a "radical," but we can discern that he is travelling on the path to revolutionary socialist ideas.

Aufsätze in "Morgenblatt für Gebildete Leser," 1840-1841. (Articles for "MfGL" (Morning Journal for Cultured Readers), 1840-1841).

Drei Broschüren über Schelling, 1 (Schelling u. die Offenbarung, 2 (Der Triumph des Glaubens, 3 (Der Philosoph in Christo, 1841-1843 (Three Pamphlets about Schelling 1 (Schelling and Revelation, 2 (The Triumph of Faith, 3 (Schelling, the philosopher in Christ, 1841-1843).

Schelling was a decided opponent of Hegelian philosophy. In his young days Schelling did, however, put forward a radical view in philosophy, but he turned somersault in later life. Engels criticizes his notions and his practical attitude as an appointed State professor.

Aufsatz in "Rheinische Zeitung," 1842. (Articles for "RZ" (Rhenish Gazette), 1842).

The "Rheinische Zeitung" to which Engels contributed "radical essays" was under the editorship of Marx, but at this time Marx and Engels had not yet become close friends.

Aufsätze in "Deutsche Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft u. Kunst," 1842. Articles for "DJfWrK" (German Annuals for Science and Art), 1842.

Aufsatz in "Georg Herwegh's Zeitschrift," 1843. (Article for Georg Herwegh's Journal, 1843).

Engels here denounces Landlordism.

Aufsatz in "Schweitzer Republicaner," 1843. (Essay for "SR" (Swiss Republican).

Here is to be noted a rebellious tone towards Landlordism.

Aufsätze in "Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher," 1844. (Articles in the "DFJ" (German-French Annuals, 1844).

This was the journal for which Marx and Engels wrote. Engels has two interesting essays—one on the condition of England and the other, "A Sketch for a Critique of Political Economy."

Articles for the "New Moral World," 1843-1844.

The "New Moral World" was the organ of the Owenites.

Aufsätze für "Vorwärts." (Articles for "Vorwärts" (Forward), 1844).

Engels writes on the condition of England and on the English Constitution.

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Section 3.—Correspondence between Marx and Engels from October 8th, 1844 to 10th January, 1883.

Der Briefwechsel zwischen Marx u. Engels. (Correspondence between Marx and Engels 1844-1883) (T).

Some 1,400 letters or so are contained within the correspondence. These letters give us an insight into the lifelong friendship which had but one rupture, which was soon healed. The letters show that Engels helped Marx generously throughout the latter's life. They reveal the period

when Engels could give very little help—the early period—Marx then suffered real hell. We read that "the bailiffs have come," "that there is no money to bury the child," that his wife is suffering from mal-nutrition, etc. We read, too, that Marx on one occasion—this in later years when in trouble—applied for a job as a railway clerk, but "they reject him on account of his bad handwriting." After 1870 Engels becomes a man of independent means and from then on he maintains the Marx family. The early letters show the attitude of both writers to the anarchists, Stirner and Proudhon. In these early letters are revealed, too, the preliminaries to the Communist Manifesto. We see from the 1850 decade "correspondence" that not Marx but Engels wrote "Revolution and Counter Revolution." In one of his letters Marx gives Engels an outline of the theories which he elaborated in Volume 3 of Capital—thus Engels was fully acquainted with Marx's theories as soon as they had already been formulated. In their letters both writers are critical of "Ferdinand Lassalle," but when he dies suddenly, they are really extremely sorrowful about his death. Marx seems to have been afflicted for many years with carbuncles, headaches and other illnesses. It must be mentioned that there is no "stand-offishness" between them—rude remarks are sometimes let loose—though not swear words. To sum up—the correspondence can be regarded as a parallel work with the other writings of the authors.

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Section 4.—Marx and Engels, from 31st December, 1844 to 14th March, 1883, also Engels correspondence from 1883 to 1895.

Die Heilige Familie, von Marx u. Engels, 1845. (The Holy Family, by Marx and Engels, 1845) (PT).

This book is a polemic against Bruno Bauer and associates. It is the first published work in which the philosophical conceptions of Marx and Engels are elaborated. "Historical Materialism" is expounded in connection therewith and a systematic presentation of English and French philosophy is given too. For the most part the book is directed polemically against Bruno Bauer and others of the "Left Wing Hegelian" school of thought, who remained stuck in the abstractions of Hegel and could not draw revolutionary consequences with regard to nature and to man.

Thesen über Feuerbach von Marx, 1845. (Theses on Feuerbach by Marx, 1845) (T).

These theses were issued by Engels five years after Marx's death. They are a true critique of Feuerbach's world outlook. To be noted is the famous thesis Marx puts forward: "Philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways. The point is to change it."

Articles for the "New Moral World" by Engels, 1845.

These are a continuation on world affairs for this "Owenite" journal by Engels.

Zwei Elberfelder Reden von Engels, 1845. (Two addresses delivered by Engels at Elberfeld in Germany on 15th and 22nd February, 1845).

These are the first public speeches by Engels. The written reports of the speeches have come down to us. Engels addresses a mixed audience of the bourgeoisie and proletariat (it must be remembered that the bourgeoisie were then a revolutionary class). Engels noted the amazing historical economic development England had undergone. He points to Socialism or Communism as the final goal for mankind. He expresses, however, some false sentiments concerning the acceptance of such a Socialist future by his listeners and by the revolutionary bourgeoisie in other places.

Aufsatz in "Deutsches Bürgerbuch" von Engels, 1845. (Article for "DB" (German Citizen-book) by Engels, 1845-1846.

In his contributions Engels deals amongst other things with the "True Socialists" whom he criticizes.

Aufsätze in "Gesellschaftsspiegel" u. in "Westphälisches Dampfboot," von Engels, 1845-1847. (Articles for "G" (The Mirror of Society) and for "WD" (Westphalian Steamboat) by Engels, 1845-1847.

These are varied contributions. Part of the "German Ideology" was actually published in the "WD."

Briefe von Marx u. Engels, 1845-1895. (Letters to various correspondents, either from Marx or from Engels—these correspondents are: Heine, Wedemeyer, Lassalle, Freiligrath, Sorge, Annenkov, Bernstein, Schweitzer, Kugelmann, Schmidt, Danielson, Nieuwenhuis, Wischniewsky, Dietzgen, Beesly, Bebel, Adler, Zasulich, etc., 1845-1895) (PT).

The correspondence from Marx and Engels reaches numerous and varying personalities. In the letters are frequently to be found analyses of theoretical questions, criticisms of economists and politicians and a whole mass of other interesting issues.

Die Lage Der Arbeitenden Klasse in England in 1844, von Engels, 1845. (Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844, by Engels, 1845) (PT).

This youthful work of Engels is really excellent. The first English preface, which Engels had omitted from the 1887 English edition, characterizes Engels' personality at the time in 1845. The book was one of the first to describe the realities of working-class life in England in the 1840's. Engels explains the factors that gave rise to the modern proletariat. In this work Engels predicts erroneously an impending proletarian revolution.

Die Deutsche Ideologie, von Marx u. Engels, 1845. (German Ideology, by Marx and Engels, 1845) (PT).

This is the book which, Engels tells us, he and Marx consigned to the mice after the publishers had suddenly refused publication. The rather lengthy work is a polemic against Feuerbach, Bruno Bauer and Stirner—a polemic in which the "historical materialism" of Marx and Engels is brought out, just as it is in other respects in the "Holy Family." There is also a chapter dealing with Karl Grün and his so-called "True Socialism."

Aufsätze in "Rheinische Jahrbücher," von Engels, 1845-1846. (Articles for "RB" (Rhenish Annuals) by Engels, 1846.

Here, varied articles. One is entitled "London International Celebration Meeting."

Aufsatz über Fourier in Deutsches Bürgerbuch" von Engels, 1846. (Article on Fourier for "DB" (German Citizen-book) by Engels, 1846.

Engels here translates one of Fourier's articles (i.e., from French into German) and is full of praise for the "ethical idealist" Fourier, but the Utopianism does come in for criticism. In a sense this critique is contained within Engels' later work "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific."

An das Kommunistische Korrespondenzkomitee, von Engels, 1846. (Letters of Engels to the Communist Correspondence Committee in Brussels (23rd October, 1846) (T).

These criticize amongst other things Proudhon and Karl Grün.

Grundsätze des Kommunismus, von Engels, 1846. (Principles of Communism, by Engels, 1846).

In this work which was not published until after Engels' death, we are given an anticipatory sketch by Engels of the material contained later in the Communist Manifesto, drawn up by himself and Marx.

La Misère De La Philosophie par Karl Marx, 1847) (T).

This is the work in which Marx trounces Proudhon. It is a critique of the latter's "Philosophy of Poverty." Marx shows that the so-called theoretical ideas of Proudhon are erroneous, and also that his panaceas were "capitalist patchings," or else plain nonsense. It was during the elections of 1848 that Proudhon, the "Anarchist" showed just where he stood politically—he advocated "class collaboration."

Die Wahren Sozialisten, von Engels, (The "True Socialists," by Engels, 1847).

Here we have a critique of these pseudo-socialists calling themselves the "True."

Der Status Quo in Deutschland, von Engels, 1847. (Article on the Status Quo in Germany, by Engels, 1847).

This is an article, too, directed against the "True Socialists." Engels here also gives an historical sketch of Germany's economic development.

Erklärung gegen Karl Grün-Triersche Zeitung, von Marx, 1847. (Declaration against Karl Grün in the Trier Gazette, by Marx, 1847).

Aufsätze in der Deutschen Brüsseler Zeitung, von Marx u. Engels, 1847. (Articles for the "DBZ" (German-Brussels Journal) by Marx and Engels, 1847-1848).

Des articles dans "La Reforme Paris" par Engels, 1847-1848. (Articles in "La Reforme Paris" by Engels, 1847-1848).

These are articles which deal mainly with the Chartist movement.

Article dans "L'Atelier" par Engels, 1847. (Article in "L'Atelier" by Engels, 1847).

This is an article on the workers and capitalists in England.

Vorträge von Marx, 1847. (Lectures of Marx to the "Deutsch-Arbeiter Verein" (German Workers' Union) in Brussels, 1847.

These are the lectures by Marx on "Wage Labour and Capital" which were later printed in the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung," 1849. In these lectures Marx analyzes the relationship between the workers and the capitalists and fully develops his viewpoint on the exploitation of the workers. Marx points to Socialism as the solution to the workers' problems.

Speech intended to be delivered at the "Free Trade Congress in Brussels." (Marx is refused permission to address the assembly).

Engels reports on this to the "Northern Star," the Chartist journal and Marx's intended speech is printed in that journal on the 6th October, 1847.

Speech of Marx and Engels on Poland delivered in London on 29th November, 1847—reported in the "Northern Star."

Discours de M. Karl Marx, Bruxelles, 1848. (Speech of Marx on Free Trade delivered in Brussels on the 9th January, 1848) (T).

Discours de Karl Marx, Bruxelles, 1848. (A speech of Marx and one of Engels delivered in Brussels on the Polish Issue, 22nd February, 1848).

Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei, von Marx u. Engels, 1848. (Manifesto of The Communist Party—later title, "Communist Manifesto," by Marx and Engels, 1848 (T), 1872 edition with preface by Engels (German Ed.)—1882 Russian edition with preface by Marx and Engels.

This is the world famous manifesto of the authors. Fully scientific and none-the-less revolutionary in tone, it is an inspiring document. The practical measures

considered as applicable to the time were not held to be the tactics to be pursued by the proletariat in other conditions. The "Communist Manifesto" and "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific" are the revolutionary masterpieces of Socialist literature. The Communist Manifesto was printed at 46 Liverpool Street, Bishopsgate.

Forderungen der Kommunistischen Partei, 1848. (Demands of the Communist Party in Germany, Marx and Engels, 1848) (T). These consist of practical measures which Marx and Engels considered should be advocated.

Aufsätze in "Neue Rheinische Zeitung," von Marx u. Engels, 1848-1849. (Articles for the "NRZ" (New Rhenish Gazette), 1848-1849).

The "Neue Rheinische Zeitung" was nominally a recontinuation of the "Rheinische Zeitung," but in reality a journal wholly on Marxian lines. The journal, edited by Marx, and owned by sympathisers to socialism, was suppressed by the censor on the 19th May, 1849, and prior to that, in February, the authorities had levelled a charge against Marx for unlawful writing.

Karl Marx vor Den Kölner Geschworenen, 1849. (Speech of Marx to the Cologne Jury, 9th February, 1849).

This is a really lengthy speech of Marx. Marx, who had been charged with writing unconstitutional articles, here defends himself in a masterly manner. Engels, too, had been charged and appeared before the court. Marx spoke in defence of all the "conspirators." After a short sitting the Jury acquitted Marx and the others. However, on the 16th May, 1848, Marx was ordered by the authorities to leave the country.

Aufsätze in "Neue Rheinische Zeitung," "Politische Okonomische Revue," 1848-1849. (Articles for the Neue Rheinische Revue," 1848-1849) (PT).

The "Neue Rheinische Revue" was really the resumed organ of the "NRZ," the one that had been suppressed. This was, however, now published as from London, although printed in Hamburg. The articles "Class Struggles in France" and certain articles on Russia are to be found in this journal.

Articles for the "Democratic Review" on the "Ten Hours Bill," by Engels, March, 1850.

This is an article of Engels for the Chartist paper, edited by Julian Harney. Engels here expressly declares that the way for the workers to establish socialism is for them to return a majority of working men to the House of Commons. Engels thus shows here that to his way of thinking the conquest of power can be brought about by the workers obtaining control of Parliament.

Ansprache Der Zentralbehörde An Den Bund, von Marx u. Engels, 1850. (Address of the Central Communist League to its members in Germany, by Marx and Engels, 1850) (T).

Here both Marx and Engels analyze events in Germany in the still revolutionary period, and lay down principles to guide their Communist friends in Germany.

Dsa Achzehnte Brumaire Des Louis Bonaparte, von Marx, 1852. (The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, by Marx, 1852) (T).

This book, first published in America, is a brilliant analysis of the situation in France at the period just prior to Louis Bonaparte's seizure of power. Bonaparte and Hitler were men of similar stamp, ambitious political adventurers.

Articles for the "New York Daily Tribune," "Putnam's Review" and the "New American Encyclopedia," 1851-1862, by Marx and Engels.

Marx wrote numerous articles for the "New York Tribune." We shall enumerate those which have been published in book form. The reader should note that in the beginning it was actually Engels who wrote the articles, as prior to 1853, Marx was insufficiently acquainted with the English language for the purpose of writing literary matter. Engels wrote the articles himself, or in some cases Marx wrote them and Engels translated them. Even later some of the military articles were probably written by Engels, at any rate to some extent. (1) Revolution and Counter-Revolution. (2) The Spanish Civil War. (3) The Russian Menace to Europe. (4) Marx on China. (5) The Eastern Question. There are, of course, many other articles to be found in the volumes of the "New York Tribune." The series of articles on Revolution and Counter Revolution is a brilliant survey and analysis of the bourgeois revolutions in Germany and Austria. The others have an up-to-date sound, but it must be noted with reference to the material on Russia that although Marx was completely wrong in advocating armed intervention against Russia as an aid to progress (a war did occur—the Crimean War) yet his hatred of Russian Tsardom can be well understood. It must be remembered that at the time Marx wrote serfdom prevailed in Russia, and the autocratic Tsarist Regime crushed ruthlessly all attempts at progress and democracy. Marx was poorly paid for his articles and, of course, could not just write in the way he may have thought best, but none-the-less he got through some really fine articles at times.

Articles for "The People's Paper" by Marx and Engels, 1852-1858.

In this journal were reprinted articles from the "New York Tribune," which were amended and enlarged by Marx.

Der Ritter von Edelmütigem Bewusstsein, von Marx, 1853. (The Knight of magnanimous mind—or consciousness, by Marx, 1853).

This is a tiny pamphlet directed against Willich Schapper, who organised a faction in the Communist League against Marx and Engels.

Enthüllungen über Den Kölner Kommunistischenprozess, von Marx, 1853. (Revelations concerning the Cologne Communist Trial, by Marx, 1853).

In this work Marx exposes to ridicule the unwarranted charges made in 1851, and protests against the arrests of the members of the Communist League, and the convictions against them. Marx showed that most of the charges were trumped up by Prussian police spies, and he declared that he had been followed by spies in London, and that in order to get rid of them, he had to appeal to a magistrate at Marlborough Street Police Court. The whole account is really interesting in revealing the "Gestapo" of the day amongst other items.

Aufsätze in "Die Neue Oder Zeitung," von Marx. (Articles for the "Neue Oder Zeitung," by Marx, 1855).

Articles for the "Free Press" and "Diplomatic Review," by Marx 1856-1858).

"Life of Palmerston," also "English Diplomatic History, etc." written in 1850.

These two pamphlets were published in 1899. A distinct pamphlet on Palmerston had been written and published in 1855.

Grundrisse der Kritik der Politischen Okonomie, von Marx, 1857. (Outline of Critique of Political Economy) and Das Kapitel vom Geld u. Das Kapitel vom Kapitel." Writings on Money and Capital) 1857-1858 (PT).

We have here material which as on similar lines to that contained in the manuscripts for "Capital."

Aufsätze in "Das Volk," 1859. (Articles for "DV" ("The People") by Marx, 1859.

Zur Kritik Der Politischen Okonomie, von Marx, 1859 (Critique of Political Economy, by Marx, 1859) (T).

The "Critique" can be regarded as a real preliminary to "Capital." In the preface we have a sketch by Marx of the "materialist conception of history." Marx had already completed his economic studies when the "Critique" was written. The "economic" material contained in the work is an analysis of the commodity; a theory of money; review of theories of previous economists, etc.

Po u. Rhein: Savoyen u. Nizza, von Engels, 1859-1860 (Po and Rhine: Savoy and Nice, by Engels, 1859-1860).

These pamphlets were published anonymously. They are writings which deal

specifically with Germany's military situation and Germany's chances in the event of becoming involved in a war. In no sense of the word can these pamphlets be regarded as any kind of Socialist propaganda—if they were ever intended as such by Engels. Engels was an expert on military matters. The German General Staff actually thought these anonymous pamphlets were the work of a German general somewhere, but this goes to show how completely devoid of any Socialist content they were, even though they were mainly descriptive and not suggestive.

Aufsätze in "Allgemeine Militärzeitung," von Engels, 1860. (Articles for "AM" (General Military News) by Engels, 1860).

Essays to Volunteers. (Pamphlet written by Engels, 1861).

Herr Vogt, von Marx, 1861. (Herr Vogt, by Marx, 1861).

This was a pamphlet directed against Herr Vogt, a former Prussian Parliamentary deputy, who had made slanderous accusations against Marx. Marx tried unsuccessfully to bring Vogt before the courts in Germany. In this pamphlet Marx accuses Vogt of actually being a paid spy of the French Government. Remarkably enough, during the Franco-Prussian War, with the fall of Napoleon, the Republican Government found amongst this worthy's papers a receipt for a considerable sum of money that had been paid to a "Herr Vogt."

Articles for "Die Presse" (Vienna) by Marx and Engels, 1861-1862.

These are mainly articles which (written in English) deal with the American Civil War. They are published in a book "The Civil War in the United States."

Article on "Military Issues" by Engels, for "Manchester Guardian," 1864.

Articles for the "Beehive" by Marx, 1864-1870.

Address, Preamble and Provisional Rules of The International Working Men's Association, founded 1864.

The 1st International endured for nine years. Marx writes in letters that he had to amend slightly the principles, by the insertion of words like "justice," "morality," "truth" in order to get the material accepted. Marx delivered addresses at congresses of the International when possible for him to do so. At the Hague Congress in 1872, Marx declared that the workers of England, Holland, U.S.A., might come to power peacefully.

Über Proudhon, von Marx, 1865. (Article on Proudhon, published 1865, in "Sozialdemokrat," by Marx).

Die Preussische Militärfrage, von Engels, 1865. ("The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers," by Engels, 1865).

In this work, Engels reviews—we might say—Germany's military position. His viewpoint on a citizen army is, of course, an erroneous doctrine, even if we do understand that Germany then had a very feudal army which played a reactionary role.

Gegen Schweitzer von Marx, 1865. (Article attacking Schweitzer by Marx, published in the "Sozialdemokrat," 1865).

Value, Price and Profit, written by Marx in 1865.

This pamphlet is a wonderful simplification of Marx's economic doctrines.

Das Kapital von Marx, 1867-1872-1873 u. Manuskripte für Band 2, Band 3, und Band 4. (Capital, Volume 1—1st German Edition, 1867—French Edition, 1872: 2nd German Ed. 1873: English Ed. based on material left by Marx and issued by Engels, 1885. Also manuscripts written for volumes 2, 3 and 4 (from 1861-1875)—published in 1885 as Volume 2 (T), in 1894 as Volume 3 (T), 1902-1910, Volume 4 or "Theorien über den Mehrwert" (Theories of Surplus Value (PT)).

The material referred to above constitutes the continuation by Marx of his economic writings as from his "Critique of Political Economy." Capital, Volume 1, analyzes the productive process of capitalist society. Volume 2 analyzes the circulatory process for industrial capitalism, and gives a critique of "Smithian" and "Ricardian" economic concepts. Volume 3 provides historical information and also analyses of commercial capital, banking capital, agricultural capital, etc. "Theorien über den Mehrwert" is a review of the writings of a large number of economists from William Petty onwards. In the prefaces to volume 1, Marx explains his relationship in thought to the philosopher Hegel, and puts forward specific views about the nature of the economic development of capitalist society. The opening chapter of "Capital" deals with the analysis of a commodity. Marx explains in detail his theory of value. The meaning of money is elucidated. We have chapters on machinery, the rise of industrial capitalism, the nature and import of surplus value, and also some statements on the inevitable overthrow of bourgeois society. In volume 3—most of which was written before the publication of volume 1—Marx explains how the law of value operates within capitalist society; we have here in connection therewith, the theory of the average rate of profit. There are, too, several pages which are inspiring in their prediction concerning the end of capitalism. "Theorien über den Mehrwert" is a wonderful review of the main works of so many economists and Utopian Socialists, but not an entire review—Marx had read more and reviewed more in writing than is contained even

within the volumes of the Theorien. To sum up, it can be said that Marx's economic theoretical system is contained within these volumes—almost in entirety.

Über Marx, von Engels (Biographical Sketch written for "Die Zukunft"—later amended and printed in other journals, 1867, by Engels).

Über "Das Kapital," von Engels, 1867. (Review of "Capital" for "Demokratisches Wochenblatt" (Democratic Weekly) by Engels, -868).

The Civil War in France and Manifestos of The International, by Marx and Engels, 1870-1871.

These articles were written in English. The manifestos are concerned with the Franco-Prussian War, to which both of them took up a somewhat peculiar attitude. At the beginning they held that the Germans were correct in resisting the emperor Napoleon. When Napoleon had been overthrown and the republic established both writers saw the menace in Germany's continuation of the war. The attitude of hostility to Bismarck became even more pronounced when the latter released troops to crush the Paris Commune. In this work both writers describe the Commune, which Engels later referred to as "A dictatorship of the proletariat."

Articles for "The Pall Mall Gazette" by Engels, 1870-1871.

These were written anonymously by Engels. They are, however, wholly descriptive, and are not intended to convey any propaganda.

"Zur Wohnungsfrage," von Engels, 1872. (The Housing Question, by Engels, 1872) (T).

In this booklet we have some interesting views of Engels, and all the quackery and other reformist claims and pretences that are to-day advocated by the Labour Party are here exposed decades previously by Engels so far as the housing issue is concerned, for one thing.

Aufsätze in "Volkstaat" von Marx u. Engels, 1871-1875. (Articles by Marx and Engels for the "Volkstaat," 1871-1875) (T).

The "Volkstaat" was the organ of the German Labour Party. The articles written by Marx and Engels for this Social-Democratic paper cover many issues—the housing question, the Blanquists, the German constitution, the Cologne Communist Trial, etc.

Vorbemerkung zum "Bauernkrieg," von Engels, 1875. (Preface to "Peasant War in Germany," by Engels, 1875) (T).

Engels here gives amongst other comments of his a sketch of German economic development from 1848.

Kritik Des Gothäer Programms, von Marx, 1875. (Critique of The Gotha Programme, by Marx, 1875) (T).

In this critique, which was not published until 1891, Marx deals with the unsound views stated in the programme.

Articles for the "Labour Standard" (New York Publication), 1877.

This publication was edited by Mac-Donnell. Engels' series is entitled "The European Working Class in 1877."

Anti-Dühring, von Engels, 1878. Anti-Dühring, by Engels, 1878) (T).

This is the greatest of Engels' writings. The chapter on Political Economy was, however, written by Marx. The work is a brilliant survey of the whole field of scientific research. Philosophy, History, Economics, Astronomy, Biology, etc., are all dealt with. Anti-Dühring ranks next to "Capital."

Biographie Von Marx, von Engels, 1878. (Biography of Marx by Engels, 1878).

This sketch was published in the "Volkskalende."

"La Revue Socialiste" par Marx. (Articles for "La Revue Socialiste" by Marx and Engels, 1881) (PT).

These deal with economic issues.

Dialektik Der Natur, von Engels, 1882, (Dialectics of Nature, by Engels, 1882) (T).

Here we have Engels' views on dialectics in relation to various fields of thought. In this work there is also a chapter in which Engels exposes the "Spiritualists."

Randglossen zum, Adolf Wagner's "Lehrbuch der Politischen Ökonomie," von Marx, 1882. (Marginal notes on Adolf Wagner's Textbook of Political Economy, by Marx, 1882).

This is the last of Marx's writings on economics. The criticism is directed against the Austrian economist Schaeffle too. We have further points on the theory of value, i.e., additional in the light of criticism.

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Section 5.—Friedrich Engels, from the death of Marx, 14th March, 1883, to his own death, 3rd August, 1895 (excluding correspondence).

Speech of Engels, 17th March, 1883, over the grave of Marx at Highgate Cemetery.

Vorwort zum ersten Bande des "Kapital" (Third German Preface to Volume 1 of "Capital," 1883) (T).

Here Engels refers to the friendship which had existed between himself and Marx.

Der Ursprung Der Familie, 1884 and 1891. (Origin of The Family, 1884, with second preface, 1891) (T).

In this work Engels utilizes the notes left behind by Marx on Morgan. Primitive Communism is here dealt with and reference is made to the meaning of "universal suffrage" as a means for the working class to gain power. The "State"

is shown to be, not an organ overriding classes, but an actual organ of class suppression.

Vorworte zum zweiten Bande des "Kapital," 1885 and 1893. (Prefaces to Volume 2 of "Capital," 1885 and 1893) (T).

In the 1885 preface Engels gives a survey of Marx's economic theories and issues a theoretical challenge to the opponents of Marxism.

Preface to the English edition of "Capital," 1886.

In this preface Engels refers amongst other things to the fact that Marx had made a lifelong study of English history, etc., and that he had held the view that for the working class of England a completely "peaceful and legal" social revolution was possible.

"Vorwort zu Enghüllungen," 1885. (Preface to "Revelations concerning Communist Trial," 1885) (T).

Further light on this drama is shed by Engels.

Einleitung zu "Karl Marx c.d. Kölner Ges." (Preface to "Karl Marx before the Cologne Jury, 1885).

Further light on this issue, too, by Engels.

The British Labour Movement—Articles for Labour Standard, 1885.

Most of these are concerned with the role of the Trade Unions and with economic simplifications.

Einleitung zu Wilhelm Wolff's Buch, 1885. (Preface written for Wilhelm Wolff's book, entitled the "The Schlesian Millions" (Die Schlesische Milliarde, 1885).

Wilhelm Wolff was an intimate friend of Marx and Engels, and "Capital" is dedicated to his memory. Engels gives a sketch of Wolff's life.

Einleitung zum "Brumaire," 1885. (Preface to the 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, 1885) (T).

Engels here praises the "Brumaire" writing of Marx as a masterpiece.

Vorwort "Zur Wohnungsfrage," 1887. (Preface to "The Housing Question," 1887).

In this preface Engels gives amongst other things a further description of German economic development and offers some comments on "Proudhonism."

English preface to English edition of Communist Manifesto, 1888.

Engels explains why they called it a "Communist" manifesto and not a "Socialist" manifesto. He also summarizes tersely but clearly the "materialist conception of history."

Gewalt u. Ökonomie, usw. (The Establishment of The New German State, written 1888, published 1896).

Here Engels reviews Germany's historical development over a period.

Ludwig Feuerbach, 1888 (Ludwig Feuerbach, 1888) (T).

This is a really excellent pamphlet for information on German philosophy in Marx's day. Feuerbach was a materialist and after 1845 or so called himself a "Communist." His great work is "Das Wesen Des Christentums" (The Essence of Christianity). Engels shows where Marx and he developed beyond Feuerbach.

Vorwort zum Kommunistischen Manifest, 1890. (German Preface of 1891 to "Communist Manifesto," also Italian Preface, 1893, also Polish Preface, 1892).

Here Engels supplies further points of profound interest.

Articles of Engels on Russia, reprinted in "Time," 1890.

"Einleitung Zum Kapital," 1890. (German Preface to Volume 1 of "Capital," 1890).

Engels here deals with an accusation that was made by a certain "Sedley Taylor" against Marx's literary scrupulousness.

Über das Gothäer Programm," 1891. (Preface to the Gotha Programme, 1891) (T).

"Kritik des Erfurter Programms," 1891. (Critique of Erfurt Programme, 1891).

This is Engels' criticism of the newly reformed German Social-Democratic Party Programme.

"Einleitung zum Elend der Philosophie," 1891. (1891 Preface to "Poverty of Philosophy") (T).

In this preface Engels deals with "Rodbertus," the man who pretended to be the real founder of Scientific Socialism.

Vorwort zu Borkheims Buch, 1891. (Preface to Borkheim's Book on War, reprinted in a French journal "L'Almanach Du Parti Ouvrier," 1891. (PT).

Nothing but stricture can be placed upon this writing of Engels from our standpoint. Had Engels lived he would undoubtedly have accepted wholeheartedly "stricture" of this—his expressed view on war at the period in 1891. He would have acknowledged his error and have been sorry for having written in such a strain. Here Engels is under the delusion that German Social Democracy is really a means for the establishment of Socialism. Engels considers that support of war by the German workers is justified if Tsarist Russia and her ally France attack Germany. He holds that Social Democracy would be crushed in the event of a German defeat. Even if this were true (and this is questionable) it would not justify a support of war.

"Aufsätze für Die Neue Zeit" u. "Vorwärts," 1890-1895. (Articles for "Die Neue Zeit" and for "Vorwärts," 1890-1895) (PT).

These journals were the publications of German Social Democracy. Engels' contributions are varied—on "Christianity," "Economics," etc.

Preface to 'Socialism, Utopian and Scientific,' 1892.

Engels here gives us a sketch of materialist philosophy: has some pointed remarks on the "Agnostics." Engels expresses his views on the "proletarian revolution."

Engels Rede, 1893. (Engels' speech at the Congress of the Austrian Social Democratic Party, held in Vienna, 1893).

Engels was invited by the Congress in Vienna to become the chairman at the public meeting, and he would have done so had not the police intervened and declared that it was illegal for a foreigner to be "chairman." Engels speech is full of enthusiasm. His views, however, on the Austrian Party as a means of establishing Socialism were completely erroneous. Engels saw the surface of things in this respect. Had he lived longer than he did he would have seen the inner reality of the German and Austrian parties—he would have seen them as "capitalist reform parties."

Internationales aus dem Volksstaat, 1894. (Preface to articles for the "Volksstaat," 1894).

Vorwort zum dritten Bande des "Kapital," 1894. (Preface to Volume 3 of "Capital," 1894).

This preface surveys the replies given to Engels' challenge concerning the solution to a theoretical issue in economic science. Engels contends that the Marxian school alone (i.e., Konrad Schmidt and Fireman) has come near to solving the problem.

Vorwort zu "Anti-Dühring," 1894. (1894 Preface to Anti-Dühring) (T).

Engels here mentions that he adds remaining supplements by Marx, omitted from previous editions.

Nachtrag zum "Kapital," 1895. (Supplement to Volume 3 of "Capital," 1895) (T).

This supplement is a great aid to the understanding of the third volume. Engels holds that the "law of value" has been valid for thousands of years.

SUPPLEMENTARY.

Lectures on Economics delivered by Marx at Great Windmill Street, London, 1850-1851. (No copies of lectures exist, but reference to lectures in Liebknecht's "Karl Marx.")

Review by Engels of Proudhon's book, "General Idea of Revolution in the 19th Century." (Not published in Engels' lifetime).

Article by Engels entitled "Der fränkische Dialekt." (The Frankish Dialect). (Not published in Engels' lifetime).

"Aus Dem Handschriftlichen Nachlass." (Articles by Engels, written 1848, entitled "Seine and Loire," "From Paris to Berne," "The French Working Class and the Presidential Election," "Proudhon"—not published till after Engels' death.

Compiled by S. GOLDSTEIN.

Before the Communist Manifesto: 2

The following is from Engel's manuscript for a Pamphlet, "Principles of Communism," prepared in 1847. This extract is taken from the edition published by Lanka Samasamaja, of Colombo, Ceylon.

Question 13. What follows from these periodic commercial crises?

Answer. First: That though big industry in its earliest stage created free competition, it has now outgrown free competition; that for big industry competition and generally the individualistic organization of production have become a fetter which it must and will shatter; that so long as big industry remains on its present footing it can be maintained only at the cost of general chaos every seven years, each time threatening the whole of civilization and not only plunging the proletarians into misery but also ruining large sections of the bourgeoisie; hence either that big industry must itself be given up, which is an absolute impossibility, or that it makes unavoidably necessary an entirely new organization of society in which production is no longer directed by mutually competing individual industrialists but rather by the whole society operating according to a definite plan and taking account of the needs of all.

Second: That big industry and the limitless expansion of production which it makes possible bring within the range of feasibility a social order in which so much is produced that every member of society will be in a position to exercise and develop all his powers and faculties in complete freedom. It thus appears that the very qualities of big

industry which in our present-day society produce misery and crises are those which in a different form of society will abolish this misery and these catastrophic depressions. We see with the greatest clarity:

(1) That all these evils are from now on to be ascribed solely to a social order which no longer corresponds to the requirements of the real situation; and

(2) That it is possible, through a new social order, to do away with these evils altogether.

Question 14. What will this new social order have to be like?

Answer. Above all, it will have to take the control of industry and of all branches of production out of the hands of mutually competing individuals, and instead institute a system in which all these branches of production are operated by society as a whole, that is, for the common account, according to a common plan, and with the participation of all members of society. It will, in other words, abolish competition and replace it with association. Moreover, since the management of industry by individuals necessarily implies private property, and since competition is in reality merely the manner and form in which the control of industry by private property owners expresses itself, it follows that private property cannot be separated from competition and the

individual management of industry. Private property must therefore be abolished and in its place must come the common utilization of all instruments of production and the distribution of all products according to common agreement—in a word, what is called the communal ownership of goods. In fact, the abolition of private property is doubtless the shortest and most significant way to characterize the revolution in the whole social order which has been made necessary by the development of industry, and for this reason it is rightly advanced by communists as their main demand.

Question 15. Was not the abolition of private property possible at an earlier time?

Answer. No. Every change in the social order, every revolution in property relations, is the necessary consequence of the creation of new forces of production which no longer fit into the old property relations. Private property itself originated in this way. For private property has not always existed. When, towards the end of the Middle Ages, there arose a new mode of production which could not be carried on under the then existing feudal and guild forms of property, this manufacture, which had outgrown the old property relations, created a new property form, private property. And for manufacture and the earliest stage of development of big industry, private property was the only

possible property form; the social order based on it was the only possible social order. So long as it is not possible to produce so much that there is enough for all, with more left over for expanding the social capital and extending the forces of production—so long as this is not possible, there must always be a ruling class directing the use of society's productive forces, and a poor, oppressed class. How these classes are constituted depends on the stage of development. The agrarian Middle Ages give us the baron and the serf; the cities of the later Middle Ages show us the guildmaster and the journeyman and the day labourer; the seventeenth century has its manufacturing workers; the nineteenth has big factory owners and proletarians. It is clear that up to now the forces of production have never been developed to the point where enough could be produced for all, and that private property has become a fetter and a barrier in relation to the further development of the forces of production. Now, however, the development of big industry has ushered in a new period. Capital and the forces of production have been expanded to an unprecedented extent, and the means are at hand to multiply them without limit in the near future. Moreover, the forces of production have been concentrated in the hands of a few bourgeois, while the great mass of the people are more and more falling into the proletariat, their situation becoming more wretched and intolerable in proportion to the increase in wealth of the bourgeoisie. And finally, these mighty and easily extended forces of production have so far outgrown private property and the bourgeoisie that they threaten at any moment to unleash the most violent disturbances of the social order. Now, under these conditions, the abolition of private property has become not only possible but absolutely necessary.

Question 16. Will the peaceful abolition of private property be possible?

Answer. It would be desirable if this could happen, and the communists would certainly be the last to oppose it. Communists know only too well that all conspiracies are not only useless but even harmful. They know all too well that revolutions are not made intentionally and arbitrarily, but that everywhere and always they have been the necessary consequence of conditions which were wholly independent of the will and direction of individual parties and entire classes. But they also see that the development of the proletariat in nearly all civilized countries has been violently suppressed, and that in this way the opponents of communism have been working toward a revolution with all their strength. If the oppressed proletariat is finally driven to revolution, then we communists will defend the interests of the proletarians with deeds as we now defend them with words.

Question 17. Will it be possible for private property to be abolished at one stroke?

Answer. No, no more than existing forces of production can at one stroke be multiplied to the extent necessary for the creation of a communal society. In all probability, the proletarian revolution will transform existing society gradually and will be able to abolish private property only when the means of production are available in sufficient quantity.

Question 18. What will be the course of this revolution?

Answer. Above all, it will establish a *democratic constitution* and through this the direct or indirect dominance of the proletariat. Direct in England, where the proletarians are already a majority of the people. Indirect in France and Germany, where the majority of the people consists not only of proletarians but also of small peasants and petty bourgeois who are in the process of falling into the proletariat, who are more and more dependent in all their political interests on the proletariat, and who must therefore soon adapt themselves to the demands of the proletariat. Perhaps this will cost a second struggle, but the outcome can only be the victory of the proletariat.

Democracy would be wholly valueless to the proletariat if it were not immediately used as a means for putting through measures directed against private property and ensuring the livelihood of the proletariat. The main measures, emerging as the necessary result of existing relations, are the following:

(1) Limitation of private property through progressive taxation, heavy inheritance taxes, abolition or inheritance through collateral lines (brothers, nephews, etc.), forced loans, etc.

(2) Gradual expropriation of landowners, industrialists, railroad magnates and ship-owners, partly through competition by state industry, partly directly through compensation in the form of bonds.

(3) Confiscation of the possessions of all emigrants and rebels against the majority of the people.

(4) Organization of labour or employment of proletarians on publicly owned land, in factories and workshops, with competition among the workers being abolished and with the factory owners, insofar as they still exist, being obliged to pay the same high wages as those paid by the state.

(5) An equal obligation on all members of society to work until such time as private property has been completely abolished. Formation of industrial armies, especially for agriculture.

(6) Centralization of money and credit in the hands of the state through a national bank operating with state capital, and the suppression of all private banks and bankers.

(7) Expansion of the number of national factories, workshops, railroads, ships; bringing new lands into cultivation and improvement of land already under cultivation all in proportion to the growth of the capital and labour force at the disposal of the nation.

(8) Education of all children, from the moment they can leave their mother's care, in national establishments at national cost. Education and production together.

(9) Construction, on public lands, of great palaces as communal dwellings for associated groups of citizens engaged in both industry and agriculture and combining in their way of life the advantages of urban and rural conditions while avoiding the one-sidedness and drawbacks of each.

(10) Destruction of all unhealthy and jerry-built dwellings in urban districts.

(11) Equal inheritance rights for children born in and out of wedlock.

(12) Concentration of all means of transportation in the hands of the nation.

It is impossible, of course, to carry out all these measures at once. But one will always bring others in its wake. Once the first radical attack on private property has been launched, the proletariat will find itself forced to go ever further, to concentrate increasingly in the hands of the state all capital, all agriculture, all transport, all trade. All the foregoing measures are directed to this end; and they will become practicable and feasible, capable of producing their centralising effects to precisely the degree that the proletariat through its labour multiplies the country's productive forces. Finally, when all capital, all production, all exchange have been brought together in the hands of the nation, private property will disappear of its own accord, money will become superfluous, and production will so expand and man so change that society will be able to slough off whatever of its old economic habits may remain.

Question 19. Will it be possible for this revolution to take place in one country alone?

Answer. No. By creating the world market, big industry has already brought all the peoples of the earth, and especially the civilised peoples, into such close relation with one another that none is independent of what happens to the others. Further, it has co-ordinated the social development of the civilised countries to such an extent that in all of them bourgeoisie and proletariat have become the decisive classes and the struggle between them the great struggle of the day. It follows that the communist revolution will not merely be a national phenomenon but must take place simultaneously in all civilised countries, that is to say, at least in England, America, France and Germany. It will develop in each of these countries more or less rapidly according as one country or the other has a more developed industry, greater wealth, a more significant mass of productive forces. Hence it will go slowest and will meet most obstacles in Germany, most rapidly and with the fewest difficulties in England. It will have a powerful impact on the other countries of the world and will radically alter the course of development which they have followed up to now, while greatly stepping up its pace. It is a universal revolution and will accordingly have a universal range.